584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [197] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to 431 736 [P 219-A]

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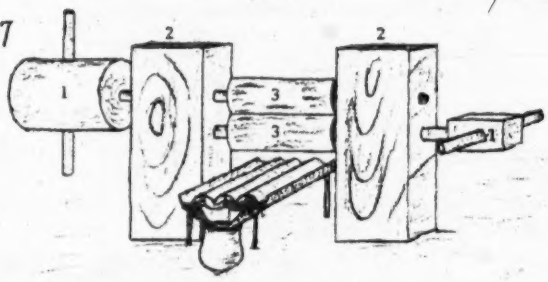

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

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their godchild nor protect him if he becomes orphaned, but this is only because closer members of the same lineage take care of him. But the padrinos must attend the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial when the godchild dies, as is expected from the godchild when the godparents die. In these communities, compadrazgo constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

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The political and religious patern is the same throughout all the Tzeltal communities, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local government and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state. These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *k'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yo?tan*, (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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584 stressed for both. The boy is again warned not to bring the me?iltatil em-
[581] barrassment by causing them to go to the cabildo.

During the six months to a year between the first and the last gatherings, the boy's representatives make up to a dozen visits to the girl's house. The patterning of behavior during these visits reveals cyclical and progressive tendencies of which the participants are consciously aware. These progressions involve time, the number of people involved, and the size of the gift.

584 Time progression affects two aspects of the courtship: the hour of the visit of the boy's mam č'om and me? č'om, which becomes later, and the length of the visit—it is longer each time. The first visit is a tactical maneuver involving the early-bird ploy. The me? č'om, having stayed awake after the all-night ceremony of the "taking of the heart," arrives at the girl's house at the "dawning dusk of the world." She stays only long enough to leave the gift and announce her intention of continuing the suit indefinitely. The timing of the last visit when the "taking of the understanding" occurs contrasts with this in that the members of the boy's wedding party arrive late in the evening and do not leave until four or five in the morning. The time of arrival and departure is plotted for each visit in Figure 5. The progressively later arrival time indicates increasing security on the part of the members of the betrothal party that the girl's family will be there to receive them, while the extended staying time indicates growing confidence and the breaking down of the barriers of reserve. Even up to the last visit, however, the members of the betrothal party take two quick parting shots of liquor as they leave the boy's house to "rid themselves of their embarrassment."

584 The increase in the number of members of the betrothal party who go
• 431 to the girl's house is tied to the increase in the amount of the gift. The role terms of the members of the betrothal party indicate their association to the gift, as shown on Table 21.

Finally, the progression in the value of the gift is the cultural item most commented upon by the people, both within the village and in comparing customs with other Indian towns. This permissible variation indicates the relative wealth of the boy's family and the relative resistence of the girl's family. While the quantities vary from one č'om to another, in all cases

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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584 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the
431 last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzo?ontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

TABLE 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

584 431 608 571

Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
Mother of the betrothal (Me? č'om)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam č'om)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (P'is ha?)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoč, usually wife of P'is ha?)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Č'up ?askah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

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Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

763 764 775 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

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764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

159 622 177 178 [454] [754] [756]

partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

159 895 177 178 563 558 [312] [756] [871] [582]

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

159 895 177 178 563 558 [608] [546] [278] [431]

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

[494]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

273 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 273 •431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

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[608]

getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

159 592 437 602 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.

A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that María had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 593 562 421 [431] A woman living with her husband in a separate household has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] [851] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [421] [562] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
562 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.
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The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
422 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
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Case 3

[131] When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
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Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the
mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials 621*
as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 794
The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782]
so that they can complete their obligation to the town.
They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788]
the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy fa-
ther townhall." There they spend the remainder of
the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621*
townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273
liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794]
policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625]
the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new
president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask
him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The par- [693]
don to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [782]
principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431]
knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The [537]
president is served following the principales in the
round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794
fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796
on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This pro-
vides a six-month term of office. The new officials
gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik
and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two set-
tings, home and church, come into play with the
change of civil officials, but the townhall, signifi-
cantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces
called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kan-
telero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are
cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common
meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wišperes*, when
the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when
the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I ob-
served it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?-
tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did
not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362]
standards, a house without a porch is considered in-
adequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since
the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occa-
sions. The group therefore lingered longer in the
house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new [537]
mayordomos" *(mamal ?ač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218 - B]